[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

road company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their services. Another reason for employing Indians is to train them in building and in such crafts as carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from supplies belonging to the Post.

(3) Three men were found to be making their living by carting, that is, transporting goods be-

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tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given.

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make hammocks and various fabrics. --In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

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464 And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros,
465 "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

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130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros. --It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head. -- They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Pururuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

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184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

But how does this urbanized population earn its keep? In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there. Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
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*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a